



EMBRACE — Nidia de Ochoa Pérez, the wife of the rebellious Salvadoran commander, Lieutenant Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa Pérez, greeting her husband for the first time since the uprising in Cabanas province, northeast of the capital. Despite that military crisis, U.S. officials in Washington said that President Ronald Reagan is planning to certify that El Salvador is making progress in human rights. Page 4.

Pentagon to Reduce Budget

Lower Inflation Expected, With Savings in Fuel and Pay

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan, bowing to congressional pressure and soaring federal deficits, announced Tuesday that he would cut his fiscal 1984 military budget by \$11.3 billion in money to be requested from Congress and by \$8 billion in actual spending.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger outlined the cuts at a Pentagon news conference shortly before Mr. Reagan announced them from Texas that he had accepted them.

The question remains, however, whether Mr. Reagan's last-minute reductions will be enough to satisfy a Congress increasingly worried about federal deficits projected to soar from \$200 billion next year to \$295 billion in 1983.

Mr. Weinberger chose to relate the cuts to the money he had requested from Congress last year rather than the amount the lawmakers actually approved. Un-

der Mr. Weinberger's arithmetic, the budget authority account for the Pentagon would drop from the projected \$284.7 billion for fiscal 1984 to \$273.4 billion, a reduction of \$11.3 billion. The Pentagon, however, would still end up with an increase of 14.6 percent over the \$258.5 billion Congress approved for the fiscal year starting in October. The raise is expected to be closer to 10 percent or perhaps even less.

Pentagon manpower officials had said that raises could drop to 5 percent without making military salaries fall behind those for civilians holding comparable jobs.

Since Mr. Reagan's rearmament program is under way, and the payments are budgeted over several years, not much would be saved at this point by canceling weapons or stretching out their production.

But since every percentage point increase in military pay costs about \$380 million, the reduction of the increase to 5 percent from 7.6 percent would save close to \$1 billion. If the 7.6-percent increase were deleted altogether, the Pentagon would save \$2.9 billion.

A person enlisting in the service today receives \$573 per month in base pay plus room, board and other benefits. A sergeant major with 26 years of service receives \$2,215 a month; a beginning lieutenant, \$1,098; a colonel, \$4,002; a general, \$5,316.

Since inflation is expected to drop faster than anticipated when the 7.6-percent raise was written into the 1984 military budget, the president can recommend a smaller raise to Congress and still say that he is honoring a pledge to keep military salaries up with inflation.

Other economies made in this last-minute reassessment of military funding requirements were the postponement of such military construction as family housing and other facilities at bases around the world, presumably including Europe. In addition, there will be fewer training exercises in distant countries than planned in fiscal 1984.

Mr. Weinberger acknowledged at the press conference that he would not have recommended half

Russia Is Reported Willing to 'Destroy' Some of Its SS-20s

By Hedrick Smith
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The most recent maneuvering in the Kremlin and the White House over arms control is another reminder that foreign policy is often as much a matter of imagery, salesmanship and positioning as selling cars or winning domestic political campaigns.

On Friday, for example, the White House had President Ronald Reagan slated to devote his usual Saturday morning radio talk to domestic affairs. But during the day, his advisers suddenly switched the topic to arms control, and speech writers in the State Department and White House put together a short address announcing that Vice President George Bush would visit Western Europe later this month to talk about disarmament.

Following statements over the weekend by President Ronald Reagan and spokesmen of West Germany, Britain and France that were intended to show that the Soviet offers would be examined seriously, Western ambassadors are now meeting individually with Soviet officials, including Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, to discuss last week's Warsaw Pact communiqué. Mr. Gromyko will also visit Bonn next week.

In particular, diplomats are interested in what might be a shift in past Soviet language on verification of arms agreements. "The 7,000-word communiqué refers to 'necessary international procedures' for verifying future arms controls which could signify general acceptance of on-site inspection of Soviet military installations. This would be a major breakthrough in disarmament terms, although Moscow has in the past indicated a limited willingness to consider such inspections.

Sources said the allies as a group still strongly believe that the Soviet initiatives — featuring a nonaggression treaty and a host of weapons bans — are part of a broad strategy to stir up public resistance to NATO plans to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in five Western European countries.

By saying that the Kremlin

would consider destroying SS-20s after its withdrawal from Europe, the negotiators made a large step, in principle at least, in answering NATO objections to the most recent Soviet proposal for limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

On Dec. 21, Yuri V. Andropov,

the Soviet leader, offered to reduce his nation's SS-20 arsenal in Europe to 162 triple-warhead missiles but made it clear his offer hinged upon NATO forgoing its deployment of 372 new U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe beginning in December.

The Russians currently have 333 of the highly accurate SS-20s deployed on their territory, with about 220 thought to be within striking distance of Western Europe.

NATO rejected the Andropov offer because he did not specify what life Russians would do with the roughly 60 SS-20s he has in effect offering to withdraw from Europe. NATO said those missiles could easily be held ready in the Asian part of the Soviet Union and, since they are mobile, rolled back within range of Europe.

Representative Tom Lantos, a California Democrat, the delegation leader, said that neither Soviet arms negotiator would specifically mention the number of SS-20s that might be destroyed.

Also on Tuesday, Hans-Joachim Vogel, the West German Social-Democratic candidate for the chancellorship, held a two-and-a-half-hour session with Mr. Andropov, and medium-range missiles dominated the discussion. Mr. Vogel said he would return home Wednesday encouraged about the chances for a U.S.-Soviet accord.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany called the offers, "noteworthy and remarkable."

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

By Philip C. Habib
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Philip C. Habib, a special U.S. Middle East envoy, arrived Tuesday in Israel to help resolve the impasse in talks on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.

One Israeli official suggested, "It

is possible that the Lebanese need pressure to be put on them to show the Arab world they are being dragged, kicking and screaming, into agreements with Israel."

In Beirut, a Lebanese government source said that Lebanon wanted Mr. Habib "to explain to the Israelis that, at this stage, Lebanon cannot normalize relations and thus walk out on the Arabs, who are pouring money to rebuild the nation."

As the diplomatic efforts continued, the police said five persons died and 12 were wounded in renewed sectarian fighting in Israeli-occupied mountains east of Beirut.

They said the clashes started when Christian and Druze gunmen began artillery, mortar and rocket battles in villages in the Chouf mountain region.

A number of shells landed in Hadath, Kfar Chama and Ba'abda,

where the presidential palace stands on a hill overlooking Beirut.

Before leaving for the Middle

East, Mr. Habib had hoped to get both sides to agree by "persuasion, common sense, good arguments, good rationalization and common objectives."

Both Israelis and Lebanese ex-

pressed the hope that Mr. Habib

would use these methods on the other side.

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Arms Negotiator Is Reportedly Recalled by White House

By Patrick E. Tyler
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has recalled and is considering the replacement of its ambassador to conventional arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union and its East European allies because it has made unauthorized statements and has behaved erratically, according to informed government officials.

Richard F. Starr, a former assistant director of the conservative Hoover Institution at Stanford University, was expected at the White House on Tuesday to make an appeal to keep his job in a meeting with William P. Clark, who is President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser.

Mr. Starr could not immediately be reached for comment, but senior

administration officials acknowledged that he was in trouble and was likely to be replaced. The State Department's choice to replace Mr. Starr, they said, is Herbert S. Okun, who served in the administration of President Jimmy Carter as the State Department's representative to strategic nuclear arms talks.

In another personnel move affecting U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations, Eugene V. Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Secretary of State George P. Shultz have submitted to the White House the names of a career Foreign Service officer, Roger Kirk, as their choice to become Mr. Rostow's deputy director.

Mr. Kirk would replace Robert T. Grey Jr., whose nomination to the deputy's post was abandoned

last week by the White House in the face of conservative opposition in the Senate led by Senator Jesse Helms, a North Carolina Republican.

Officials said efforts to remove

Mr. Starr stem from a consensus in the State Department that his behavior over the past several months may have jeopardized the administration's credibility in negotiations to reduce conventional arms in Europe, formally known as Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks.

The negotiations, which have proceeded at a tedious pace for more than a decade, aim at reducing the array of tanks, artillery and intermediate missiles facing each other across the frontier between Western and Eastern Europe since the end of World War II.

Officials familiar with Mr.

Starr's reports from the Vienna talks said that in recent months he has exhibited an overriding concern about security. They said he has sought permission from the State Department to clothe his negotiating team in bulletproof undergarments and arm them with pistols to protect them from possible terrorist attacks.

Mr. Starr reportedly also gave the officials for armored protection for the security detail assigned to him and has expressed concern that his quarters were vulnerable to break-ins.

The officials said Mr. Starr has refused to eat in some East European embassies out of fear of being poisoned. There appeared to be no basis for Mr. Starr's worries, according to the officials, but one said Mr. Starr apparently had been very upset about the terrorist kid-

napping in Italy of US Brigadier General James L. Dozier in December 1981.

Mr. Starr reportedly also gave several speeches abroad in recent months that were not cleared by his superiors. A number of statements made in these speeches reportedly caused problems for the State Department.

In another speech, Mr. Starr reportedly stated that there could be no conventional arms agreement with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact until an agreement is reached on intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

Several conservative senators have reportedly expressed interest in Mr. Starr's case. One knowledgeable Senate staffer said Senator Orrin G. Hatch, a Utah Republican, sent an aide to investi-

WORLD BRIEFS

Afghans Said to Kidnap Russians

NEW DELHI (NYT) — Afghan insurgents have kidnapped more than a dozen Soviet nationals, including several civilian advisers to the regime of President Babrak Karmal, from a bazaar in the city of Mazar-i-Sharif, on the Afghan-Soviet border, a Western diplomatic source reported Tuesday.

The source quoted a diplomatic report from Kabul as saying that the abductions took place last week and involved "12 to 14 Russians," including two women. However, the informant did not have the names or official status of the victims, whose abduction caused "turmoil" in the city. The source added that there was still no word on the fate of the victims.

Kabul radio said Tuesday that a severe earthquake last month killed 515 persons, injured about 3,000 and destroyed thousands of houses in Afghanistan's northern province of Baghlan. The radio, monitored in Islamabad, Pakistan, by Reuters, said the Dec. 16 earthquake also killed more than 20,000 cattle.

France, Spain Pledge Closer Ties

PARIS (Reuters) — France and Spain, both under Socialist governments, pledged Tuesday to foster a new era of close relations despite the continuing friction over Spain's entry into the European Community.

A meeting between Foreign Minister Fernando Morán of Spain and External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson was the first high-level contact between France and the new Spanish government. The meeting was aimed at breaking through long-standing disputes mainly over EC issues and Basque terrorism and to map out new areas for joint action.

Mr. Morán said there had been many areas in which the two countries agreed, including policy in Latin America, the Middle East, the developing world and human rights. Mr. Cheysson said the two countries shared common ambitions that went far beyond their conflicts and disputes.

N.Y. Prisoners Release Hostages

OSSINING, New York (AP) — Rebels prison inmates released their 17 hostages unharmed Tuesday after a 52-hour siege at the Ossining Correctional Facility, and state correction officials vowed that prison conditions would soon be improved.

The siege at the prison began winding down Monday after local television stations broadcast a list of 10 points of agreement the inmates said they had reached in negotiations with officials.

Corrections Commissioner Thomas Coughlin said recreation schedules would change.

For the Record

DETROIT (UPI) — A United Airlines DC-8 cargo plane crashed in flames on takeoff Tuesday at Metropolitan Airport, killing all three crew members but its radioactive cargo was recovered intact, authorities said. A Wayne County spokesman said firefighters found the container carrying the 21 pounds (9.5 kilograms) of radioactive material in the tail section. Officials said there was no danger from radioactivity.

OUAGADOUGOU, Upper Volta (AP) — Army Captain Thomas San-kara, 35, has been named prime minister of Upper Volta by an extraordinary meeting of the ruling Council of Public Salvation, authorized sources announced Tuesday. The council has run the country since the military coup d'état last Nov. 7, in which Colonel Saye Zerbo was overthrown.

VIENNA (UPI) — Werner Pöner, an actor and theater producer, was sentenced to two years in jail Tuesday for hiring three men to beat up the star of the stage show "Evita" so his girlfriend could take over the role. Isabel Weiken, the star, was attacked outside her home last March 12.

Habib and Begin to Meet On Impasse Over Lebanon

(Continued from Page 1)

Those meeting here included the Soviet defense minister, Marshal Dmitri F. Ustinov, and the defense ministers from East Germany, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, according to the official CTK news agency. General Martin Dzurilla represented Czechoslovakia, and Poland was represented by a deputy to General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The news agency said the meeting was attended by Soviet Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact's armed forces, and General Anatoli Grigorov, his chief of staff. The report gave no details of the agenda.

Last week, during the semiannual meeting of the Warsaw Pact political committee, the alliance of five members of the UN Security Council to visit London was called off, however, because of Britain's refusal to accept the inclusion of a PLO delegate.

The dispute over Palestinian rep-

resentation forced Foreign Secretary Francis Pym of Britain to cancel a planned tour of Gulf countries this month and strained British-Arab relations.

Palestinian sources in Rabat said Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, had accepted the compromise.

The Soviet news agency Tass said that Mr. Arafat arrived in Moscow Tuesday evening for a short business visit. The Associated Press reported from Moscow.

Before leaving Amman after two days of talks with King Hussein of Jordan, Mr. Arafat said he would meet with Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, on "current international efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East."

For Egyptians, Love Comes After Marriage But Some Dare to Break Ancient Taboos by Choosing Own Mates

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but they never had the possibility of making their feelings known to anyone other than themselves."

Increasingly, educated and economically secure urban Egyptians are breaking with tradition and choosing their own spouses, although most marriages are still arranged, often matching the children of brothers. In these cases, the bride is only a bystander in the negotiations for her future.

Because the family is the central unit in Egyptian society, it is assumed that everyone will take a spouse soon after reaching marriage age — about 16 for a girl and 21 for a man. People who do not marry are viewed with suspicion, and unmarried adults often continue to live with their families. For a single man, living alone would be unusual; for a woman, unthinkable.

"My brother-in-law is 28, and he was getting very panicky to be still single," an Egyptian novelist said.

"So he went to his mother the other day and said, 'I want to get married.' His mother got a photograph of an unmarried younger woman who lives nearby. A meeting was set up. He said he liked the coffee, and as soon as he can afford an apartment and the furnishings, they will be married."

Marriage is a civil contract here rather than a religious sacrament. Written into the contract are the precise size of the *mahr*, or bride payment, perhaps \$2,000 for a man of average means, and how much the groom will pay in the event of divorce.

Popular television shows and novels promote the idea that love should precede marriage, as in the West, although the opposite usually happens. Many Egyptians say that the love that takes root after marriage has a more solid foundation than the starry-eyed crushes that often lead to marriage in the United States and Europe.

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Reagan, Angered by News Leaks, Orders New Controls on His Staff

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan, complaining that news leaks were disrupting the decision-making process on the budget and other matters, has directed that White House staff members obtain clearance before discussing certain matters with the press.

"I've had it up to my keister with these leaks," Mr. Reagan was reported to have told aides Monday. His comment was disclosed by David R. Gergen, the White House director of communications.

Under a new set of guidelines for press coordination, Mr. Gergen's office is to designate a small number of White House aides to answer questions on specific subjects. Staff members not designated must receive clearance from his office before answering questions on those subjects.

Mr. Gergen said that Mr. Reagan had become upset because of "free-lancing" by various staff members in giving "misleading and inaccurate" accounts of the budget and other matters to the press. He said it was "appalling" for participants in sensitive budget meetings to discuss the contents of those meetings with the news media.

"The president has the right to conduct business and make decisions in something other than a fishbowl," Mr. Gergen said.

The guidelines were issued by James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff, who was caught Monday in some embar-

rassing publicity over an unauthorized disclosure of his own.

In an interview with the Dallas Morning News, published Sunday, Mr. Baker was quoted as suggesting strongly that Labor Secretary Raymond J. Donovan ought to resign. A special prosecutor cleared Mr. Donovan last year of charges that he had engaged in illegal labor practices as a businessman.

"Ray Donovan shouldn't be there," he was quoted as saying. "What's he thinking about? He's got his good name now. He's vindictive."

Sofia May Free Turkish Suspect

The Associated Press

VIENNA — A Turk implicated in the shooting of Pope John Paul II may be freed by authorities in Sofia because Italian authorities have presented no evidence that he was involved in the attack, the Bulgarian news agency BTA reported Tuesday.

He signaled his embarrassment

to other staff members Monday in his memorandum on press contacts.

At the bottom of the covering page, he wrote: "P.S. The pres-

ident has refused to make an exception for interviews in Turkey blinds!"

If the new regulations are com-

plied with, they would sharply change the way White House officials conduct relations with reporters.

Many White House aides decline to discuss sensitive matters with reporters. But on occasion, many also engage in a standard practice in Washington: making comments to reporters on the condition that they would not be publicly identified.

Some White House officials were predicting Monday evening that this practice would continue with the new guidelines.

White House officials and reporters say a range of motives lead to unauthorized disclosures. In some cases, a staff member wants something publicized to force the president's hand, or to prevent something from happening, or simply to vent some frustration that cannot be expressed to colleagues.

Mr. Gergen cited recent news articles suggesting that Mr. Reagan was leaning toward military spending cuts and certain levels of cuts in domestic spending programs.

He also cited an article in The New York Times last week quoting a White House official as terming the current stage of the budget process an "unmitigated disaster."

"That is not a view that is shared here at the White House," Mr. Gergen said, adding that various reports about frictions within the White House staff were also upsetting to the president.

INTERNATIONAL ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION

THE ISLAMIC DEVELOPMENT BANK an international development financing institution

announces that it will hold an International Architectural Competition for the architectural design of the proposed Headquarters Building for the Islamic Development Bank and the Islamic Research and Training Institute to be built in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

All interested Architectural and Engineering Firms should submit the following prequalification details by the 12 Rabid Thani 1403H, corresponding to 26 January 1983:

1. Title of Architectural Firm, Address, Telex Number, Names and Qualifications of Principals; together with similar information for any associated firms required to offer the complete Architectural, Structural, Building services, Landscaping and external works design for the complex.

2. Details of a maximum of five similar buildings which the Firm has designed within the last ten years, to include:

— Name of the Project, Name of the Client, prizes and commendations, if any, Period of Design, Period of Construction, Construction Cost [in Saudi Arabian Riyals or United States Dollars], responsibility, if any, for supervision of construction.

3. Gross Fee Income for last five years, on an annual basis, for Architectural Design work, together with Bankers references.

4. Covering letter authenticating that all information given is a true statement of fact.

These prequalification details should be submitted to the offices of the Bank's Technical Adviser for the Competition:

Kattan-Gibb
87 Saqr Quraysh Street
(Main Salamat Street)
Al-Salamah District 1
Jeddah N26 W4 Sector
Telephone: 683 3732.

A copy of the covering letter only should be sent to:
The Director of Administration
Islamic Development Bank
P.O. Box 5925
Jeddah 21432
Saudi Arabia.

The Bank will invite a maximum of 25 short listed firms to enter for the competition to design the buildings, of approximate area 40,000 m² plus parking garages. A first prize of SR 100,000, second prize of SR 50,000 and third prize of SR 25,000 as well as 3 honorary prizes will be awarded.

Majority Leader Baker Won't Seek New Term As Senator, Aides Say

By Martin Tolchin

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Howard H. Baker Jr., the Senate majority leader, has told his top aides that he will retire from the Senate when his term ends in January 1985.

Two of the aides said Monday that the Tennessee Republican had been won down by his Senate work and by conflicts among his Republican colleagues and between Congress and the White House. Senator Baker plans to announce his coming retirement in Tennessee next month, they said.

"He wants a new career and wants to make some money," said one of the senator's aides.

Senator Baker was said to believe that President Ronald Reagan will seek re-election, and thus thwart the senator's own ambition. In the event that Mr. Reagan decides to seek re-election, however, the senator is expected to campaign for the presidency.

The 57-year-old legislator, who was a successful lawyer before his election to the Senate, is serving his third term. He has spent the last four years as Republican leader and became majority leader in 1981, after Republicans won control of the Senate. His colleagues re-elected him to the leadership last month.

Senator Baker was said to be fearful that Republicans could lose control of the Senate next year, leading to his decision to minority leader. This would be an especially difficult role after the influence and celebrity that he has enjoyed as majority leader.

The senator considers himself both Mr. Reagan's lieutenant in the Senate and the Republican emissary to the White House. He spent most of the last two years mediating disputes between the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue.

The senator, who came to Washington as a millionaire, has sacrificed most of his fortune to his political career, the aides said, and he now feels the need to make money.

Senator Baker also was said to have become bored with his legislative work and to be eager to embark on a new career.

The senator studied the retirement in 1976 of former Senator Mike Mansfield, a Democrat of Montana, then the majority leader. Senator Baker was said to feel that, like Mr. Mansfield, his departure at the end of a presidential term would aid Mr. Reagan by enabling the president to begin a new term with a new Republican leader.

Senator Baker also was said to have been mindful of the fact that every member of the Senate Republican leadership will be up for re-election next year. If they were all campaigning, he asked aides, who would mind the store?

The senator's wife, Joy — whose father, the late Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, was also a Senate Republican leader — was said to have sought to persuade Senator Baker to remain in the Senate.

The majority leader ended the last session by rebuffing a challenge to his leadership by a small group of Republican conservatives who filibustered against an increase of 5 cents a gallon in the gasoline tax. Senator Baker broke the filibuster by keeping the Senate in session until shortly before Christmas Day.

He had earlier used his considerable powers of persuasion to induce the president to endorse the measure, which also had the support of the speaker of the House, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., a Massachusetts Democrat. The legislation marked the first time that Senator Baker and Representative O'Neill had worked together on a major legislative project, amid predictions that it was a harbinger of cooperation in the new Congress.

A year ago, Senator Baker told the president that the projected budget deficit was unacceptable and high, and he played a major role in

Greece Asks U.S. Why Jets Landed At Base in Crete

ATHENS — Greece, soon to resume negotiations on the future of four American military bases, has called for an explanation of why six U.S. Air Force jets landed without permission at the U.S. Suda Bay base in Crete, a government official said.

Pro-government newspapers said the American F-4 Phantom jets should have obtained clearance before landing since agreements for the operation of U.S. bases in Greece permit only U.S. Navy planes to land at Suda Bay.

A government spokesman said the U.S. Embassy air attaché was called Monday to the Foreign Ministry to explain the recent landings.

Negotiations between Athens and Washington over the four U.S. bases in Greece resume about Jan. 20. A 1953 defense cooperation pact governing the operation of the bases expired in 1978. Greek sources said Athens wants to raise the amount of rent for the bases.

U.S. Names Belize Envoy

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan Monday chose Malcolm Barnebey, a Foreign Service officer, to be the first U.S. ambassador to the Central American country of Belize, which became independent in 1981.



Howard H. Baker Jr.

Reagan Critic Launches A Republican Crusade

By Bill Peterson

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, one of President Ronald Reagan's most vocal critics within the Republican Party, this week began what he described as an open battle "for the soul of my party" with a five-day swing through early primary states in New England.

Senator Packwood's schedule strongly resembles that of a presidential candidate, but he insists he has no intention of becoming one. He is going to New Hampshire, the first presidential primary state; to Boston, whose television broadcasts reach southern New Hampshire; and to Maine, which has an early presidential delegate selection caucus date.

The trip, he said in a recent interview, is "a political, but not a presidential one," aimed at "spreading my brand of Republicanism hither and thither."

"I want to tie my party back into the mainstream before it's too late," he said. "I'm trying to change its direction."

The White House has no official reaction to the trip, said Larry M. Speakes, the deputy press secretary. But Mr. Packwood's effort is hardly going unnoticed.

"When you talk about saving the soul of the Republican Party, that's a direct slap at the president," one administration strategist said. "We thought for the last year and a half that Packwood wanted to run for president."

"He's going after the old Rockefeller group," the strategist added. "Packwood sees a void out there, and he feels he can fill it."

"This trip is no threat to anyone in the White House," Senator Packwood contended. He said his purpose is not to run for president but to provide a rallying point for other moderate Republicans concerned about the rightward drift of the party in recent years.

"If we all say, 'Let's do nothing' and don't speak out, then there won't be any change," said the three-term senator, who is largely unknown outside the nation's capital and his home state. "Someone has to be the point man. Someone has to bring these issues before the party."

Mr. Packwood, ousted last month as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, has frequently criticized the Reagan administration for alienating women and minorities and becoming "the party built on white, Anglo-Saxon males over 40."

But the trip, which began with an appearance Sunday in Connecticut, represents his most concerted and open challenge to President Reagan and other conservative party leaders. Senator Packwood is appearing in four states before some of the groups most unhappy with Reagan policies — women, environmentalists and Jewish people — as well as Eastern establishment Republicans, long uncomfortable with Mr. Reagan.

The journey, he said, "is in no way designed to twist the tail or tweak the nose of the anyone in the White House." But moments later, he added, "I've got a lot of causes to talk about."

Among them are the Equal Rights Amendment, legalized abortion and the sale of sophisticated Airborne Warning and Control

Nuclear Panel in U.S., Amid Criticism, Sets New Goals on Safety

By David Burnham

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Despite the strong objections of its senior advisory group, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has approved a new statement of safety goals for U.S. nuclear-power plants. The statement is designed to provide an explicit description of the commission's views on the acceptable level of risk to public health and safety.

Criticism of the statement, which was issued Monday, was voiced by the commission's Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, which found fault with specific aspects of the new policy. The committee noted that the government had abandoned the standard that the social risks of reactors "should be as low as reasonably achievable."

The commission approved the goals by a 4-to-1 margin, with only one, Victor Gilinsky, opposing the statement. The policy is tentative in the sense that it will undergo a two-year evaluation by the commission staff before becoming final.

Mr. Gilinsky said that the effect of the policy was to "place a cap on risk" and not on risk.

The first goal adopted by the commission was that "individual members of the public should be provided a level of protection from the consequences of nuclear power plant operation such that individuals bear no significant additional risk to life and health."

The second goal was that the so-

cietal risks to life and health "should be comparable to, or less than, the risks of generating electricity by viable competing technologies and should not be a significant addition to other societal risks."

The committee said that because of the way social risk was defined by the new standard it would have the "undesirable characteristic" of permitting larger risks for reactors located in heavily populated areas than for those in less populated regions.

The commission's advisory group said it believed that the concept of requiring that all new reactors be built in such a way as to reduce risk to as low a point as is reasonably achievable should be retained. The statement was contained in a letter to Muniz J. Paladino, the commission's chairman.

A second objection concerned the commission's decision in its new assessment of individual risk factors to consider such long-term effects as cancer.

The commission's statement was also criticized by the committee on grounds that it had not paid adequate attention to the risks from sabotage of individual plants or from the theft of nuclear material that might be used in nuclear weapons made by terrorists.

One of the goals set out by the new policy is that each reactor should be built so that there is only one chance in 10,000 that it will have a core meltdown, the most serious kind of accident, during its estimated life span of 40 years.

Statistical studies by the commission were requested last week by Mr. Gilinsky showed that of the plants where the staff had already undertaken such probability-risk assessments, six did not meet the hoped-for standards.

The plants not meeting the goals were Indian Point Unit 2, in New York; Millstone I, in Connecticut; Big Rock Point, in Michigan; Browns Ferry, in Alabama; Calvert Cliffs, in Maryland; and Crystal River, in Florida.

The policy statement on safety goals was produced in response to recommendations by the special president's commission on the accident at Three Mile Island, near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1979. That accident was the most serious in the history of the peacetime use of nuclear power.

That commission recommended that the government prepare an explicit statement on the government's safety philosophy and how it balanced safety and the cost of equipping reactors with expensive safety equipment.

Trial Averted Kirkpatrick Says UN In 1981 U.S. Spends Too Much and Hotel Mishap Violates 'Universality'

\$10-Million Accord Tentatively Approved

By Bernard D. Nossiter

New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — A U.S. District Court judge has given tentative approval to a \$10-million settlement in the collapse of two suspended walkways at the Kansas City Hyatt Regency Hotel in 1981.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick, the United States delegate, said in an interview that she saw some "disturbing directions in UN practices which are deeply worrisome." She cited what she described as an "erosion of restraint" in spending money and a breach in "the principle of universality," the prime example being an attempt to oust Israel from the General Assembly.

For their part, some Third World delegates and UN officials say they are concerned over what they believe is a harsher, stiffer American stance toward the organization.

They note that the United States repeatedly cast the sole negative vote in General Assembly resolutions on subjects as diverse as a code against apartheid in sports to a plea against outlawed drugs. The Reagan administration's latest move, refusing to pay the U.S. share for a rules commission for the sea law treaty, is seen as part of the same go-it-alone stance.

"Is there a new policy?" Mrs. Kirkpatrick asked rhetorically.

"The answer is no."

It is not true, she said, that Washington is taking a stern line. Over the last dozen years, she said, the United States has frequently voted alone.

But delegates here say they are disturbed by an American insistence on breaking a consensus in the assembly, where resolutions are merely recommendations, even on matters of lesser importance to Washington.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick was reluctant to discuss the reasons for this, but an official with inside knowledge of the process said that "on the great bulk of resolutions, instructions" from the State Department were followed.

Although the particular case on which the Justice Department commented involved pension plans used by 3,400 colleges for about 650,000 employees, the issues raised in the case could affect millions of American workers.

The operators of pension plans

have argued that the use of life expectancy tables results in a fair system because men as a group get paid the same benefits as women as a group.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick said she had adopted a new tactic to bold UN

UN costs. Noting that the assembly often votes resolutions that require money for such purposes as conferences without regard to budget ceilings, she said, "Bridging by resolution was running amok."

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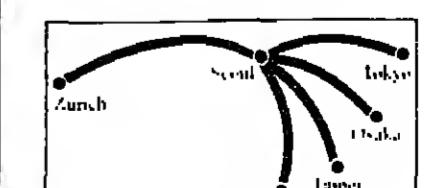
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Nakasone and Chun Meet in Seoul On \$4-Billion Economic Aid Plan

Reuters

SEOUL — Yasuhiro Nakasone, making the first official visit to South Korea by a Japanese prime minister, met Tuesday with President Chun Doo Hwan to discuss a \$4-billion Japanese aid package.

Mr. Nakasone, his wife, Tsutako, and an entourage of 50 officials were welcomed at the airport by Prime Minister Kim Sung Hyup. Japan's flag flew from government buildings for the first time since 1945, when 35 years of Japanese colonial rule ended.

The military police were on guard at the airport as Mr. Nakasone arrived, but no special security measures were noticeable on the 15-mile (24-kilometer) route into the capital.

A man speaking Korean telephoned the Japanese Embassy on Sunday and said he would kill Mr. Nakasone as he drove into Seoul.

Mr. Nakasone said before leaving Japan that he hoped the visit, his first overseas trip since he became prime minister in November, would establish mutual trust and friendship between South Korea and Japan.

Japan stirred considerable hostile reaction in both North and South Korea last year when changes in Japanese history textbooks glossed over the country's colonial and wartime record in Korea. Later the government promised to revise the changes.

Mr. Nakasone is visiting Seoul just one week before he is to go to Washington for talks with President Ronald Reagan. North Korea

and leftist opposition parties in Japan have said the visit is aimed at the formation of a military alliance linking Seoul, Tokyo and Washington.

North Korea's official radio broadcast an editorial by the country's Communist Party newspaper, Rodong Sinmun, saying "the moves to form the triangular military alliance pose a grave threat to peace and security in Korea and Asia, and are a vicious challenge to the national independence of the peoples in this region and their cause of independence."

■ Arrangements Completed

Henry Scott Stokes of The New York Times reported from Tokyo:

Officials in Tokyo said that in the meeting between the two leaders, Mr. Nakasone had told Mr. Chun that arrangements had been completed for the \$4-billion aid package, which is to last for five years beginning in April.

Diplomats in Tokyo described the package as the biggest aid amount ever offered to another country by Japan. They said the decision to give the money to South Korea, Japan's strategic neighbor, was made personally by Mr. Nakasone when he took office.

U.S. officials in Tokyo and Seoul strongly welcomed the decision by Japan to help South Korea's hard-pressed economy as a major gesture to an American ally.

Mike Mansfield, the U.S. ambassador to Japan, called Mr. Nakasone's journey to Seoul "a dramatic move."

China Activists Find Voice in West Students' Magazine Promotes Democracy, Rights

Reuters

NEW YORK — Forced underground at home, China's struggling democracy movement has found a voice in North America with the publication of *China Spring*, a magazine edited by Chinese students living overseas.

The magazine's editor, a doctoral student in economics who uses the pseudonym Huang Li, said *China Spring* aims to promote the "struggle for democracy, political freedom, human rights and rule of law."

Edited by six Chinese students in the United States and Canada with the help of six persons in China, the New York-based magazine proved a great success in Chinese communities in North America when it was first published last November.

Mr. Huang, who emphasized that similar publications have been banned in China, said all 6,500 issues of the inaugural issue sold out and that a new edition is being planned for Hong Kong.

"It is very difficult if not impossible in China to say whatever people would like to say," Mr. Huang said. He added that he and the other editors hope to stimulate dialogue at home by reaching mainland Chinese students who are now abroad.

More than 10,000 Chinese students have come to the United

States and 700 to Canada since 1979 when the Beijing government began promoting foreign study as part of a program of economic and technical modernization.

Professor Andrew Nathan of Columbia University's East Asian Institute said that many Chinese studying abroad "support the sentiments that have been expressed by the magazine even though they may be afraid to come out and put their name on the masthead."

Both Dr. Nathan and Mr. Huang spoke of the "crisis of belief" experienced by Chinese intellectuals after the brief period of liberalization that followed the death of Mao in 1976 and saw numerous small democratic magazines flourish before being suppressed.

China Spring's next North American issue, which is to include a scholarly article in English on the Chinese economy, is scheduled for publication in New York in late January.

Because he hopes to return to China after completing doctoral work at an American university, Mr. Huang does not use his own name in connection with *China Spring*.

But Mr. Huang was adamant about the publication's independence from nationalist-controlled Taiwan. "It seems to us that Taiwan also has its own problems. It's not a democratic system in Taiwan."

After receiving 2,000 letters of support and contributions amounting to several thousand dollars since the November issue, the editors appear vindicated in their belief that the democracy movement, though suppressed at home, is by no means dead.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Games in El Salvador

A colonel named Sigifredo Ochoa Pérez has done the one thing best suited to demolishing the reform effort in El Salvador and ensuring a speedy guerrilla victory. He has rebelled against the government's authority — specifically, he says, making a distinction that in the circumstances is meaningless, against the person of the defense minister, José Guillermo García. If he succeeds Col. Ochoa will have transformed El Salvador's government from a struggling enterprise worth trying to influence and guide to just another roughneck regime in a place where the United States can have no further good reason to bang on.

The military largely served as the landlords' gendarmerie in El Salvador until 1979, when the officer corps made a historic break and set out on a reform path. Not every officer went along, but the effort was serious enough to reassure many of the military's old adversaries and to make revolutionaries on the far left fear that their thunder would be stolen — which is why they took up arms. A number of the old-guard officers quit or were forced out. Col. Ochoa, otherwise known for his professionalism, appears to have links with them, especially

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Fortune Tellers

A fierce quarrel over economic forecasts within the Reagan administration and the Republican Party has gone far beyond the usual technicalities. The administration's forecast having been extravagantly wrong a year ago, the economists believe it is essential to be careful this time. But some of the politicians regard the economic forecast as a sort of statement of purpose, and they vehemently attack anything less than wild optimism as being a retreat from the original Reagan spirit.

The economists are right. If the White House were to come out with blue-sky projections of high growth and rapidly falling unemployment in its budget and its Economic Report at the end of this month, people would conclude that the Reagan administration was taking a vacation from reality. They would begin to protect themselves in ways that would not help prospects for recovery.

The forecast is the foundation on which an administration bases its economic plans. To say merely that the Reagan administration's forecast erred a year ago is a considerable understatement. Geoffrey H. Moore, who was commissioner of labor statistics in the Nixon administration and is now at Rutgers University, recently surveyed successive administra-

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Opinion

About the Soviet Economy

The occasional visitor to Moscow can settle at a glance the debate about the Soviet economy that rages in Western capitals. Living standards there are relatively high, and continue to rise. The economic difficulty comes not in meeting basic needs but in satisfying increasingly discriminating tastes.

Automobiles present perhaps the most striking sign of steady economic growth. Private cars, a rarity 20 years ago, are now common to the point of becoming a problem. On such main drags as Gorki Street and Kalinin Prospekt there are now rush-hour traffic jams.

Clothing is not only warm and serviceable. Stylish coats, hats and boots are evident all over Moscow. One way Russians put down the Chinese is by criticizing their dress. "They think," a Russian said of the Chinese, "that a good Marxist has to look like a peasant."

Lines outside food shops are more common now than a couple of years ago. But the basic supply is assured. Indeed, there is enough around so that there was an increase to mark the accession of Yuri Andropov.

But if the quantity of goods suffices, quality and servicing fall short. The agenda of the Politburo shows that at all their meetings on Dec. 16 the top Russian leaders discussed, besides arms control and relations with Finland, the question of the availability of auto parts.

Meat, which was a luxury in the past, is now central to the Soviet food problem. Demand is rising, and the big pinch in agriculture comes in feed grains for livestock.

— Syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft.

Wall Street Watches OPEC

Unlike some observers who predict that the producers' cartel is stumbling with only a matter of months to survive, Wall Street oil analysts see OPEC's real test coming at a yet-to-be-scheduled but seemingly inevitable meeting toward the end of the first quarter or in the second. That when the winter seasonal demand will start to ease up and producers may feel more amenable to discussing imposition of quotas. Until then, say the analysts, the key word to describe OPEC's probable behavior in the coming months remains "uncertainty."

— Nick Snow in The Oil Daily (Washington).

FROM OUR JAN. 12 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: New Sultan in Morocco

PARIS — The news of the proclamation at Fez of Muley-Hafed as Sultan of Morocco has caused a great sensation in political circles. Abd-el-Azziz was, on January 4, solemnly deposited at the Mosque of Fez and his brother Muley-Hafid proclaimed Sultan in his stead. Abd-el-Azziz is reproached with having allowed his territory to be invaded by the Christians and of having entered into an arrangement with them for the organization of a police force in the ports of his Empire. The proclamation of the new Sultan was made under two conditions, the abolition of taxation and the suppression of all relations with Europeans except such as are permitted by custom and the national regulations.

1933: A Prayer for Prosperity

PARIS — Today's editorial in the Herald reads: "Our world lacks that form of successful attainment which we call prosperity. We are praying to whatever gods we worship, and are bending brain and muscle that it may return. We want our prosperity back. There is serious question as to whether we want the same brand and nature of prosperity that we enjoyed prior to 1929. Our civilization had become a civilization of things. We hardly noted whether our life had dignity, moral worth and a touch of aesthetic introspection. A definition of the new prosperity may read somewhat as follows — an adequate supply of nutrition, mental, spiritual and physical, available for all persons at all times."

— The Daily Mail (London).

Detached and Phasing Out

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — It is customary in the second January after each inauguration to write a mid-term assessment of a presidency. That is what I set out to do. But it quickly became clear that in the case of Ronald Reagan something else is required. What we are witnessing this January is not the midpoint in the Reagan presidency, but its phaseout.

"Reaganism," it is becoming increasingly clear, was a one-year phenomenon, lasting from his nomination in the summer of 1980 to the passage of his first budget and tax bills in the summer of 1981. What has been occurring ever since is an accelerating retreat from Reaganism, a process in which he is more spectator than leader.

One measure of that transition was last week's Gallup Poll showing Mr. Reagan trailing two leading Democrats in trial heats for the 1984 election. Former Vice President Walter Mondale had a 52-40 percent lead. Sen. John Glenn had a 54-39 percent lead.

Such leads for opposition candidates are extremely rare at this stage of the cycle when all presidents, including Mr. Reagan, enjoy an aura of authority.

But presidential polls change. Much more significant is the way in which power is moving away from Mr. Reagan in the ongoing work of government. What began as a process of delegation is rapidly approaching abdication.

Look at the world scene. The Middle East peace effort is at a crucial juncture, so special envoy Philip Habib is hard at work on the problem. The Far East demands attention, so Secretary of State George Shultz puts in a long Saturday of briefings in preparation for a trip to China, Japan and South Korea. Western Europe sits in response to a peace initiative from the new Soviet leader, so Vice President George Bush schedules a round of high-level talks in the European capitals.

Meanwhile, the president — back five days from his most recent California holiday — is photographed in sports clothes heading off for a weekend at Camp David.

year of Mr. Reagan's ascendancy — to slow the runaway growth of military spending, recapture some of the squandered revenue base, cancel the foolish indexation of tax rates before it goes into effect.

In that process of mid-course correction, Mr. Reagan is less the man out front than the barrier to be overcome. Even if he is persuaded to lend his voice to the effort, he will be the tag-along.

At some point down the road the phaseout of the Reagan presidency



will confront the Republican Party with an awkward but vital choice of its future leadership. At that point those who are now cooperating in easing the transition from Reaganism — the Bushes, Laxalt, Bakers and Doles, plus the key members of the White House staff and cabinet — may choose up sides in the struggle for succession.

The United States is fortunate that for now, they are putting aside their personal ambitions and working together to fill the vacuum of leadership that President Reagan's phaseout has left.

The Washington Post.

Why Andropov Wants a Missile Deal

By Mark Frankland

MOSCOW — Twenty years ago the Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, then something of a hero for those Russians who hoped for changes after Stalin's death, wrote a song called "Do the Russians Want War?" His answer was no.

A web of suffering persists to this day across the country, linking knobby-faced war veterans, who wear their combat medals like armor plating across their chests, with millions of other Soviet citizens whose lives were in some way crippled by Hitler's war. One doesn't have to take the word of a Soviet poet that the Russians do not want another war. Most foreigners with experience of Russia have anecdotes from their experience to prove it.

The problem which hedges the West's relations with the Soviet Union is not Russian warmongering but reconciling Soviet and Western estimates of what security demands for each side.

By the beginning of this decade, after years of expensive arms manufacture which the Russians considered no less than their right as a superpower, the Soviet government had reached approximately — what strategists call parity — only to find the West unhappy.

The Russians had hoped a military balance that took account of their security needs would receive the stamp of approval in formal East-West agreements. Instead they face Western programs which, if implemented, will force the Soviet Union into an expensive and so far unplanned-for response. It would then have to decide whether to develop anti-missile defenses, an option both sides thought they had safely closed off in the first SALT treaty.

The Soviet government does not have unlimited time to ponder what to do; the timing of weapons production is such that it must choose within the next year or two what weapons it will want to deploy up to the end of the century. If Moscow cannot soon in some way stop the West's programs, Soviet strategists and the ever-present Russian nervousness about security will together produce great pressure for Soviet counter-programs.

It is difficult to find any Westerner concerned with Soviet affairs who believes that this is what the Russians want. The cost of a new arms race would be difficult for Soviet society to bear.

The economy is planned to grow at an unprecedentedly slow tempo, and so is investment. The government is committed in the present five-year plan to increase production of consumer goods at a faster rate than industrial goods, reversal of traditional priorities. Mr. Andropov repeated this pledge in his first speech as party leader, and there is no doubt the government believes it politically most desirable. There are no reserves from which greater defense spending can be painlessly funded — although few people doubt that funded they would be, if security was thought to demand it.

This leaves the Soviet leaders with two choices.

The first, the one that has been catching the newspaper headlines, is a propaganda campaign that exploits the unease within the Western alliance about where President Reagan is taking it.

The Russians are not comfortable partners for Western peacemakers. They are firmly set against unilateral disarmament. They are not prepared, or have not been so far, to tolerate any independent peace movement within the Soviet Union.

However, it is inevitable that the Russians should try their hardest by political means to turn Western Europe in particular against cruise missiles and Pershings, because they are so uncertain about whether their second choice, which is to negotiate with the Americans, is a real one.

After two years of watching Ronald Reagan they are perilously close to deciding that he is not a man they can negotiate with.

They have to feel that the two American arms offers that have been made — the zero option of no missiles on either side in Europe, and a cutback of strategic arms which would substantially alter

the shape of the Soviet deterrent — are meant to be impossible for them to accept.

They suspect that Mr. Reagan wants to go ahead with his buildup and so force Moscow into a competition it probably fears it cannot win. Behind the scenes that the Soviet press pours on Mr. Reagan's America lies a healthy, not to say armed, respect for American power and technology.

The Russians have now made public the outlines of their position at the two sets of arms talks. Their proposals on European missiles, even granting the fuzziness surrounding vital details, are substantially different from their first stand, which was that there was nothing to negotiate about. Yet Mr. Andropov has not added anything substantially new to what was already on offer — tentatively in private, if not in public — when Mr. Brezhnev was still alive. This is not surprising, for Mr. Andropov is not a new player in the Soviet strategists' team. He has been in it for years as head of the KGB and a Politburo member.

His appointment means that the Soviet Union has a leader who, unlike Mr. Brezhnev in his latter days, can apply an active mind to the problem and bold a meaningful meeting at the summit.

A meeting with Mr. Reagan, which Mr. Andropov says he is in principle ready for, would signal that the Russians believe that they can engage the American administration in give-and-take negotiations on the strategic relationship. This would revive the image the Russians so like of their country — engaged in a businesslike way, on equal terms, with the other superpower.

They know this is the only reliable way to manage the relationship — the key word here being "manage," for they do not dream of removing all the problems, affecting almost all the world, that are inherent in it. But they aren't sure it is possible and so for the moment will do their mightiest to frustrate Mr. Reagan by exploiting the opportunities offered by an uncertain Western alliance.

The Observer, London.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'Anti-Russian Bias'

Regarding "In Moscow, Status Is Keeping Your Hat On" (IHT, Dec. 31) by poet William Jay Smith:

Mr. Smith, who, we are told, has visited the Soviet Union four times, writes: "The only shops where I saw hats for sale were the beriozka, the hard-currency stores, which most Russians cannot frequent."

I too, have visited the Soviet Union four times. All Mr. Smith had to do while he was in Moscow was visit an ordinary department store and he would have found a large inventory of fur hats of various qualities and prices, for Russians to buy according to their means — just as would occur in an American department store.

Instead of going on about the black market, Mr. Smith should have ascertained that goods available to the Russian people in their own shops also turn up in the beriozka.

Speaking of the subway, Mr. Smith tells of "ratting along in a sauna." He does not tell of stations like palaces, the exceptional frequency of smooth-running trains, the ample lighting or the absence of litter.

He writes with anti-Russian bias.

EDWARD BERMAN,
Cannes, France

Jews in the 1930s

Regarding "Panel on War Role of U.S. Jews Breaks Up" (IHT, Jan. 3):

I would like to go back to the pre-war years from 1934 on when the little man with the funny mustache made it blatantly clear what he had in mind for the Jews.

Israel Singer's statement that the Jewish community was "relatively powerless" makes interesting reading when you consider that every major Hollywood studio was controlled by Jews and that Hollywood had enormous propaganda potential.

LOIS A. ARIOLI,
Caro

A Poet Defended

Regarding "Poet Laureate Seized" (50 Years Ago, Jan. 4):

This item ridiculing the poet John Masefield was probably in bad taste when you first printed it 50 years ago, and age has done nothing to improve what was essentially a cheap shot.

The person who says he never gets seasick is like the navigator who says he never has been lost. In both cases, they just haven't sailed enough.

J.E. BREDEMAYER,
Kobe, Japan

INSIGHTS

At Stanford, Ex-POW Teaches Lessons of Fear, Pain and Guilt

By Jay Mathews

Washington Post Service

CITANFORD, California — The U.S. Navy pilot was sick and weak in a North Vietnamese prison that fall of 1965. His unbroken left knee would bend so straight it could never be fixed and the torturers were about to begin.

Yet his mind focused on the sunny Stanford University campus and something he had read once by the Phrygian Stoic philosopher Epictetus who was expelled from Rome in the year 90.

"Lameness is an impediment in the leg, but not to the will," Epictetus had said 1,800 years before. The words stayed with the pilot through years of pain and despair until James Bond Stockdale had survived, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, and finally made it back to Stanford to return some of what he had received.

In an unusual experiment for an American college campus, a prisoner of war is being allowed to apply the strict lessons of fear, guilt and pain to a course on philosophy for everyday life. The result is an academic sensation here, with five times the class limit of 15 applying for admission and many of the rejects trying to sneak in anyway.

A Frustrated Philosopher

The sophomore seminar, "Combating Coercion and Manipulation," meets to consider the thoughts of Epictetus, Solzhenitsyn, Koestler, Dostoevsky, Plato and Aristotle, and gives Mr. Stockdale a chance to let the frustrated philosopher within him run wild.

A short, bushy, white-haired man with the look of a small-town banker, Mr. Stockdale, 59, spent two years in graduate school at Stanford shortly before his Vietnam ordeal, but his ac-

ademic style is a bit different than that of his teachers. He sharply raps his lectern, not to get attention, but to demonstrate the makeshift code used to communicate with other prisoners.

At the first class meeting, in a quiet, carpeted seminar room, Mr. Stockdale quickly yanked his audience of well-nourished 19-year-olds in sweaters and blue jeans back to his barren, solitary cell at Hoa Lo (Flame Furnace) prison.

"I believe," he said, "that human nature, its properties, the best and the worst of it, is laid bare for all to see most quickly and clearly in the laboratory, the hermetically sealed laboratory, of an extortionist prison."

Somehow, Mr. Stockdale told the students, you may learn something here about the subtle pressures of American society, particularly the manipulations of the corporate board room or the government office.

Once-in-a-Lifetime Chance

"You don't have to be a prisoner to use some of the ideas I'm going to get out of this," said Gary Vars, who came to the seminar as an economics major and to the varsity football team leader in quarterback sacks. "It was a once-in-a-lifetime chance," said Susan Compton, a public policy major from San Diego. "I had never heard that point of view before."

As the highest-ranking American prisoner of war and a constant irritant to his captors, Mr. Stockdale suffered months without treatment of his injured shoulder, back and smashed left leg. He still cannot bend his leg at the knee.

He encountered several times the torture dubbed "Pig Eye," an expert in applying excruciating pain with rope bindings and rods. He cut and bruised himself intentionally so he would be unsuitable for propaganda display.

Once, he told the students, "when I was just about out of gas," he broke a window and used the sharp glass to slash his wrists so that a particularly intense interrogation would stop. To this day, he said, he doesn't know if he was also trying to end his life.

History abounds with examples of extortion, of people manipulating other people through the imposition of feelings of fear and guilt," Mr. Stockdale said in the course description at Stanford, where he is a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution. "Though sometimes done in an easily recognized, explicit, and illegal way, the process is usually more subtle, more insidious, and within the law."

Those who are in hierarchies — be they academic, business, governmental, military, or other — are frequently in positions in which people are trying to manipulate them, to get moral leverage on them by methods which are not easily recognized by the victims."

As an example, he cites the struggle of his wife, Sybil, to organize the League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia in 1967 and 1968 despite subtle pressure and opposition from the U.S. government.

He recalls his own decision to resign in 1980 as president of The Citadel, a South Carolina military academy, after only one year in the job that had persuaded him to leave the navy before he needed to. The school's board would not let him upgrade the academic program and curb traditional hazing and compromise, he had learned already, would not get him what he wanted.

Mr. Stockdale quotes with feeling the words of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet dissident and novelist: "Bless you, prison, for having shaped my life."

The navy had sent the promising young lieutenant commander to Stanford to get a master's degree in political science, useful for future Pentagon duty in planning strategies and policies. To Mr. Stockdale, this was a "license to steal," because it left him time to explore subjects the navy was not interested in.

Wandering through the philosophy department one day in civilian clothes, he encountered Mr. Rhinelander. Mr. Stockdale said he was a broad student who had never taken a philosophy course, a naval officer and a U.S. Naval Academy graduate. Mr. Rhinelander invited

writers such as Dostoevsky, Cervantes and St. Paul spent time in jail. Mr. Stockdale says, but it is Epictetus, a former Roman slave rendered lame by a cruel master, who seems most important to him.

When Mr. Stockdale was offered medical treatment and better living conditions if he cooperated with his captors, he remembered Epictetus: "Whoever would be free, let him wish nothing which depends on others, else he must necessarily be a slave."

Time for Academic Exploration

"Most people have to knuckle under to the organization, to Big Daddy," Mr. Stockdale said. "As someone put it, 'Cooperate to graduate.' This process can become a quagmire if you let it become one. You can become compromised by so many little steps that seem insignificant, and before you know it you have passed the point of no return. The extortor knows when you reach that point, that he has you."

Mr. Stockdale had been introduced to Epictetus at Stanford by Professor Philip Rhinelander about two years before being shot down Sept. 9, 1965, while bombing railroad boxcars between Vinh and Thanh Hoa.

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Mr. Stockdale into his course "on the problems of good and evil" and promised an hour of private tutoring a week so Mr. Stockdale could get the necessary background in philosophy.

Mr. Stockdale also studied Marxism at Stanford with Robert North, a political science professor. During his captivity in Vietnam, he said, he was able to say to an interrogator: "That's not what Lenin said; you're a deviant."

Mr. Rhinelander gave Mr. Stockdale a copy of "Encheiridion" — a collection of Epictetus' thoughts as collected by his disciple, Arrian — a gift that puzzled and somewhat annoyed the navy flyer. He was a pilot and a technical expert, a man of the 20th century who played golf and drank martinis. Of what use was it to read,

"Is it better to die in hunger, exempt from guilt and fear, than to live in affluence and with perturbation?"

But in prison, he told his students, the phrase echoed through his mind again and again. "What really gives you prison nightmares, it's not broken bones, it's not pain," he said. "The way to destruction of a person is guilt and fear — guilt over what torture forces one to say or do and fear of the shame and loss of self-respect that might result."

Leader Among War Prisoners

The years in prison became a struggle between a high-level Vietnamese interrogator dubbed "The Cat" and Mr. Stockdale. The naval officer was the key target for interrogation because he was the POW leader, tapping out messages to other prisoners in violation of prison rules, issuing orders to refuse propaganda broadcasts and resist special privileges and sometimes even staging riots.

In 1970, the interrogator, looking haggard and nervous, paid one last visit to Mr. Stock-

dale to confess that he was being demoted, apparently in part because of his failure to break down his prize American prisoner.

But until then, Mr. Stockdale said, he had to endure a great deal of pain and doubt. At one critical point, he told the students, he learned "there are times when you can't be reasonable, when you can't be rational." In 1966, after a night of torture designed to persuade him to tell an American visitor that the U.S. bombing violated international law, Mr. Stockdale kicked over a table and screamed: "No, I won't say that, I don't care what you do to me."

Difference With Epictetus

It was potentially a suicidal act. The torturer held ropes that could slowly and painfully kill the prisoner. But instead, "The Cat" decided to give up the effort. He went away muttering that he had to find someone to talk to the American visitor by 10 the next morning. Mr. Stockdale realized, he said, that his torturer was just another bureaucrat, unable to deal with anyone so unpredictable.

By the seminar's second session, students were cross-examining Mr. Stockdale about his captivity and pointing out some contradictions perceived in their own study of Epictetus.

The philosopher, one student said, would never have tolerated taking orders from someone like Mr. Stockdale, as almost all of his fellow U.S. prisoners of war did. Mr. Stockdale smiled and agreed.

He said the current student generation appears to appreciate fully the values of courage, fidelity, friendship, honor, love and justice that wants them to know how to protect.

The instructor said he would ask for two term papers and maybe a final exam. But, he added, "I'm not a hard grader. I'm a soft touch."



Secretary of State George P. Shultz speaking at a news conference in Washington.

Increasing Apathy in Swiss Elections May Point to Overdose of Democracy

By Harry Trimborn

Los Angeles Times Service

S. GALLEN, Switzerland — Are the Swiss suffering from an overdose of democracy? The question has been raised amid growing concern over declining voter participation and its effect on Switzerland's proud tradition of direct democracy.

The system calls on the people to choose virtually every public official and settle virtually every public issue. Many communities still decide such matters by a show of hands at public meetings.

There was a time when voting was compulsory in many parts of Switzerland. It still is in Schaffhausen, one of Switzerland's 26 autonomous cantons, or provinces, where eligible voters are fined the equivalent of \$6 if they fail to vote without a valid reason. Last September, Schaffhausen's voters defeated a move to abolish the fine.

Yet voting has declined dramatically in the years since World War II, to around 30 percent in national elections and to less than 20 percent in some local elections. Only the United States among the world's democracies has a comparable poor record.

Mixed Feelings

Among the Swiss, feelings are mixed about how seriously voter apathy threatens their democracy, or if it does at all.

Ulrich Hubacher, a Justice Ministry official, said in a recent interview that the federal government did not consider the problem to be a real danger, but he added that the government was trying to increase the turnout by alerting voters to the issues and making it easier for them to vote.

The government is being cautious, though, because of another Swiss tradition — deep suspicion about governmental authority.

"The most important issue in this matter is that the government cannot undertake or suggest anything that might undermine our system of democracy," Mr. Hubacher said. "The citizen has the right to vote. He also has the right to refuse to vote. And anything that appears to be pressure to get people to vote is undemocratic."

Mr. Hubacher said he saw no contradiction between this view and Schaffhausen's practice of fining people who fail to vote. After all, he pointed out, such fines were approved by the voters.

Concern over the problem has been spotlighted in the press and in government and private studies. One of the latest studies is a detailed work published by the St. Gallen Graduate School of Economics, Law, Business, and Public Administration, written by Alois Riklin, the school's president, and Roland Kley.

It reports that voter turnout in elections for the federal parliament between 1945 and 1975 averaged 65 percent, with a minimum figure of 52 percent. It says that only the United States had a lower average during that period, 48 percent. The Swiss average was 20 percentage points below that of 19 countries.

In national referendums, Switzerland's report was even worse. Mr. Riklin and Mr. Kley found that Switzerland had the lowest average turnout in 1973 and 1978, more than half — 29 percent — were in Switzerland.

The contrast is even greater on the regional and local level. Under Switzerland's highly decentralized system of government, voting at the cantonal and community level is far more frequent — and more important — than at the national level.

Between 1956 and 1979, voters in St. Gallen went to the polls 148 times, an average of six times a year. In 1972, there were 11 elections.

According to a federal government report, national referendums exceed 30 a year, more than three times as many as there were 50 years ago.

Voting requirements differ among the cantons and communities. In the canton of St. Gallen, for example, it is mandatory to conduct a referendum on any public expenditure exceeding \$3 million.

How They Voted

Among the bewildering array of issues placed before Switzerland's four million voters in recent years was a proposal to ban all forms of motorized transport on land, water and air on the second Sunday of every month. It was defeated. So were proposals to establish a 1,200-man federal anti-terrorist force, to ban the advertising of addictive substances, to liberalize laws and to lower the voting age to 18 from 20.

The voters in a community near Bern recently approved construction of a new school — but only after voting against the inclusion of student toilet facilities on the third floor of the building.

In its effort to get more voters to the polls, the federal government has offered more than 50 recommendations, each of which would require voter approval.

One recommendation calls for voting by mail. Many districts already permit absentee voting, but only for voters who are away from their districts at election time. Another would permit proxy voting, allowing voters to cast the ballots of other voters in his or her family.

Another would make it possible to take the ballot box to people who are unable to get to the polling place — people in hospitals, old-age homes and other such institutions. Still another calls for the payment of a small fee out of public funds to political parties for each vote they get.

Such a fee — about \$1.45 — is paid to parties in West Germany, but has "no chance of adoption in Switzerland," Mr. Hubacher said.

Shultz, the Buddha of Foggy Bottom, Chooses the Easygoing Way to Policy

There are those close observers who call the 60th secretary of state "Buddha-like" and others who believe that, in only six months, the successor to Alexander M. Haig Jr. has already made himself the Reagan administration's most valued member. In this intimate profile of George P. Shultz, excerpted from The New York Times Magazine, Bernard Gwertzman of The New York Times' Washington bureau, who has reported on every secretary of state since 1963, gives high mid-term grades to the man who still seems to see himself as the university dean on leave from academia to help out his friend in the White House.

By Bernard Gwertzman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — What is most striking about George P. Shultz is that he is so unhurried. Returning from the White House, he hung up his pin-striped jacket and put on a bright blue cardigan, to receive a reporter in his cozy hideaway on the seventh floor of the State Department.

He talked easily, taking time for an occasional anecdote. His large frame seemed confined as he leaned forward in his straight-backed chair in the room he uses for thinking and charting free for an hour or two a day from the pressures that bear down increasingly on him as secretary of state.

Unconventionally, the secretary had just re-puked the Israeli government for expelling some foreign teachers from the occupied West Bank for refusing to sign an oath pledging not to give assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organization. It wasn't that he was assisting the PLO — freedom of speech was involved. For that principle, he said, he had been ready to resign as dean of the University of Chicago business school during the Vietnam War, when the faculty, fearful of student protests, asked him to deny Dow Chemical, which manufactured napalm, the right to recruit on campus.

"I said, 'Absolutely nothing doing,'" Mr. Shultz recalled. "Communists come here. Nobody wants to invite communists and they say their piece, whatever it is. That's what a campus is about — openness, argument. And, in effect, this company has been invited by these students, and this is where they are going to be interviewed." And they were.

No Quick Triumphs

Gradually, the conversation came around to his major problems. No, he said, was not expecting any quick diplomatic triumph; although he was intrigued by the possibilities opened up by the change of leadership in Moscow.

Yes, it was hard to master the intricacies of missile warheads, payloads and the like that are at the heart of any attempt to rethink the relationship with the Soviet Union, but "we've read into it a fair amount.... I have been taking opportunities to be briefed on this part, that part and another part, and bring myself up to speed on it."

It was difficult, he admitted, not to be distracted by front-page news. "I think unless you do something about it in the job of secretary of state, you will spend 100 percent of your time on the Middle East."

Philosophic, self-assured, cautious about what is possible, resigned to what he calls "the long haul" — there, six months in office, is the essential Mr. Shultz, the image that accounts as much as anything for the bogyman he still enjoys with Congress, the press and his potential rivals in the administration, as well as with leaders' friends and adversaries abroad.

Mr. Shultz, the 60th secretary of state, has never lacked admirers. In his recent memoirs, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger wrote, "If I could choose one American to whom I would entrust the nation's fate, it would be George Shultz."

Morning Briefing

Mr. Shultz likes to get up at 5:30 A.M. and be at the State Department by 7:15 to read the overnight cables and get his morning top-secret briefing from a Central Intelligence Agency officer before the pressure builds up. He seldom leaves for home — the Shultzes bought a house in Bethesda, Maryland, after his State Department appointment — before 8 P.M., and he usually works Saturday mornings. (Mr. Shultz is married to the former Helena O'Brien, from Nashua, New Hampshire.)

His first scheduled meeting is normally with the deputy secretary of state, Kenneth W. Dam, and other department "principals."

On Thursdays, he has breakfast with Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, to iron out pending State Department-Pentagon problems. On Tuesdays

Tuesday's NYSE Closing Prices

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

(Continued from Page 8)

U.S. Insurance Agents Are Going Electronic

By Leonard Sloane

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Tom Reardon, an independent insurance agent in Oyster Bay, New York, communicates these days with Travelers Corp., one of the insurance companies he represents, by computer. "With the computer," he said, "we can issue auto policies the day after the person comes in, we can send messages to the company and we can give instantaneaous quoting."

Mr. Reardon's agency, Reardon-Raplee-Linder & Mehlman, has spent about \$45,000 for computer equipment, but he thinks that it has been money well spent.

"If we didn't have it, it would have probably necessitated hiring someone else," he said. "We have saved thousands of hours worth of work, and thousands of dollars. And it's impressive for your customers."

Thousands of independent insurance agents such as Mr. Reardon are beginning to link up by computer with the property and casualty insurers whose policies they sell.

Although some major insurance companies have long had computerization at their headquarters and some large national insurance brokers have long used stand-alone computers for internal functions, the independents have been slow to purchase the equipment necessary to communicate electronically with insurers.

The costs of such two-way communications equipment are high, and there have been difficulties in establishing links through a single computer system at the offices of the 60,000 or so independent agents and brokers, known in the industry as "producers," who may sell automobile, homeowner and other policies of 10 or more insurers.

Indeed, many insurance executives say it probably will be the end of the decade before computers are widely used in the field. "The technology is there," said Richard J. Kasyanski, director of research of the Independent Insurance Agents of America, a national agents association, "but right now the insurance industry is not very sophisticated with automation."

Nonetheless, with the independent firms awash in costly paperwork, automation is starting to spread throughout the industry, spurred by multimillion-dollar efforts on the part of the insurers.

These efforts are occurring in two broad categories: computerized systems established or fostered individually by some of the top 20 insurance companies and, over the longer run, standardization of compatible programs created by groups within the industry.

According to specialists in the field, there are more than 60 independently produced linkage systems operated by vendors of, in a relatively few cases, by subsidiaries of insurance companies.



A computer terminal in use at Reardon-Raplee-Linder & Mehlman, an insurance agency in Oyster Bay, New York.

Phillips Expects Help With Reserve Problem

(Continued from Page 9)

its stock by Mesa Petroleum, had hired the First Boston Corp. as a financial adviser to seek a high price from another company. Before Phillips' bid was announced Friday, the investment banking firm had approached several other oil companies, including Mobil, Texaco and Gulf Oil.

As of June 30, General American, based in Houston, said it had proved oil reserves of 80.4 million barrels, with 56.3 million barrels in the United States and 24.1 million barrels in Canada. A relatively small oil exploration and production company, its largest reserves are in the Gulf of Mexico, Texas and the Overthrust Belt region of the Rocky Mountains.

Phillips said those oil reserves, combined with General American's natural gas reserves of 519.4 billion cubic feet (15.6 billion cubic meters), will increase its own domestic oil and gas reserves by 16 percent. In addition, Phillips said, General American's 2.1 million acres (840,000 hectares) of undeveloped oil and gas leasesholdings in the United States will expand its undeveloped domestic acreage by 26 percent. General American has another 500,000 undeveloped acres abroad.

Despite the long-term benefits of larger domestic reserves, analysts say, General American will do little to lift Phillips' earnings this year. In an effort to lessen costs last year, Phillips shut down its Kansas City refinery, reduced the number of its employees by 12 percent and initiated other economies, but its business has continued to suffer.

Major Banks to Create Institute To Monitor World Debt Problems

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — Senior officials from 35 Western and Japanese banks decided Tuesday to establish an international institute to monitor debt problems in borrower nations in an effort to avoid the kind of world liquidity crisis of the past year.

After two days of private meetings, bank officials from Europe, Japan and the Americas voted to create an agency to be incorporated as the Institute for International Finance. The bankers set up committee to find a permanent site for the institute in Washington and people to run it, and to establish operating procedures and membership requirements.

The bankers said they would meet in March in Zurich to further develop the idea. The group, headed by William S. Ogden, vice chairman of Chase Manhattan, met earlier in Britain and New York.

A spokesman for the bankers said the institute, to be open to lending institutions from throughout the world, would "cooperate with borrowing nations to promote the collection and dissemination of information concerning their financial situations, development plans, economic policies and existing and prospective foreign exchange obligations."

This information would be made available to institute members to help them assess the credit-worthiness of borrowing countries. The bankers said they would also make the information available to governments and multilateral lending agencies when this was deemed appropriate.

The bankers chose to include representatives from what is widely believed to be the world's most indebted country: Three Brazilian banks signed on as charter members. Other charter members include 10 U.S. banks, four banks each from Britain, Canada and Japan, three banks each from West Germany and Switzerland and two each from France and Italy.

Many international monetary figures, such as the International Monetary Fund director, Jacques de Larosière, and the U.S. Federal Reserve chairman, Paul A. Volcker, have criticized Western bankers for contributing to the international debt crisis by not coordinating their lending policies.

Bank of America, the world's largest commercial bank, said in an unrelated report Tuesday that global economic growth in 1983 would be "slow and halting," barely more than 2 percent, in part because of the heavy debt burden of a number of semi-industrial and developing countries.

Bank of America said that Eastern Europe, where several nations face severe external debt problems, is in a serious downturn and no improvement is expected in 1983. The report also said that large external debt burdens of many countries in Latin America will force them to focus on restructuring their output, spending and foreign trade patterns.

NOTICE TO NOTEHOLDERS

EXPORT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION U\$8100,000,000
11 1/4% NOTES DUE NOVEMBER 1, 1987

Pursuant to Section 3 of the Fiscal Agency Agreement dated as of November 1, 1982 we advise the exchange date in respect of the above issue is March 22nd, 1983.

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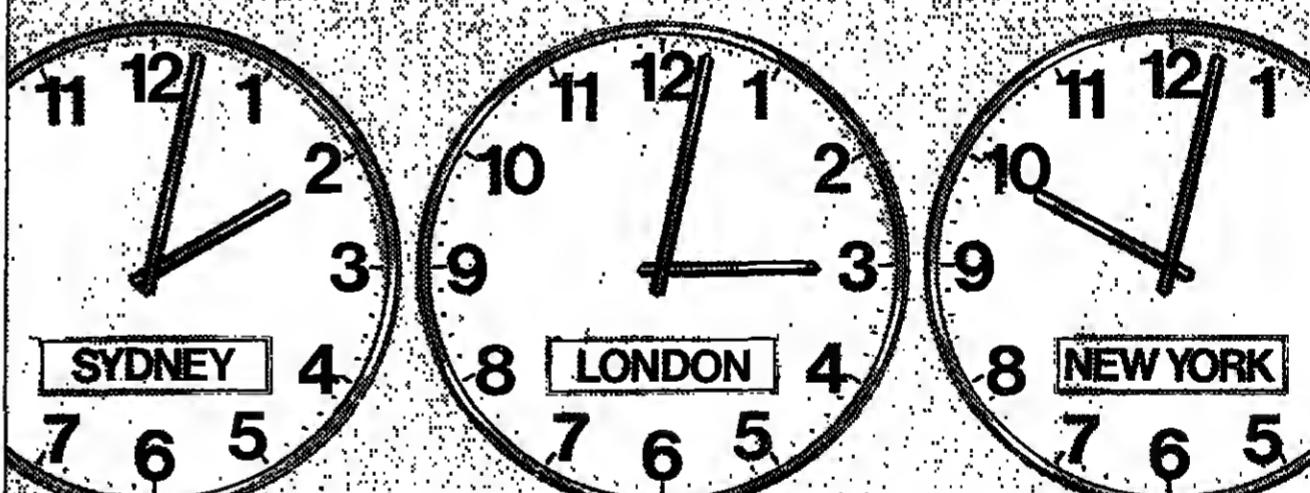
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OBSERVER

Writer on the Roof

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Having written a book, I naturally wound up sitting on a roof. Veteran book writers told me I would. "Yes," they all said. "You will end up sitting on a roof if that's what it takes to get publicity for your book."

"Never," I said, "I had read Michael Arlen's description of 'publicity-crazed authors' packed into the Green Room of NBC's 'Today' show, howling for television exposure at dawn. No such degradation for me. Dignity, dignity above all — this was my watchword. I would never sit on a roof."

"Henry James never sat on a roof," I said.

The publisher understood. "Of course I'll never ask you to sit on a roof just to sell a few hundred thousand copies of your book and become immensely rich," he said. "But be a good fellow and do just a few television appearances."

I pride myself on being a good fellow. This is why you may have seen me on 'Bones at Four,' 'Live at Five' and 'Talk at Six.' If you happen to live in Biloxi, Waukegan and Fargo, respectively. For those who saw me on 'Bones at Four,' let me say that my name is not Ernest Kiloski, in spite of what the interviewer said, and my book is not about a cat named Ernie.

Afterward, my publisher had a request from the producer of 'Bones at Four,' who wrote that I had been the most boring guest they'd had in months and would I return for a second socket appearance?

"Henry James was boring, too," I said, "but he never went on television to flaunt it."

"Have I ever asked you to sit on a roof?" the publisher said.

No, he went on. And he never would. He simply wanted to point out that bounces looked like the most exciting new trend in publishing since cats and overweight women had come along. Of course, if I had no interest in a fantastic movie sale —

I did a repeat performance on 'Bones at Four.'

"One thing I'll never ask you to do," said the publisher, "is sit on a roof. And of course, if you're not interested in huge paperback sales or the Olympic-size swimming pool

that can result if the book-club people hear your drones, I'm not going to ask you to sacrifice your dignity."

I dined for weeks on radio stations. Advertisers fought fang and claw to get their commercials spot during my appearances.

My family pleaded with me to come home, but I could not. St. Louis, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Detroit, Boston — all pleaded for me. How could I disappoint them when there was an Olympic-size pool at the end of the rainbow?

One day my publisher came with stunning news. "People magazine is interested in doing a feature," he said. My mouth watered. People magazine! A circulation of 2.5 million! Even if only half bought my book, we would be rich enough to buy that island in the Aegean I've had my eye on.

"You'll do it?" asked the publisher.

"Even Henry James would have done it," I said.

"There's just one thing," he said.

He fell to his knees and bowed his head.

"They'll want you to sit on a roof," he said. "They need — well — interesting pictures you see."

"But you promised —"

"And I mean it. That's why I won't ask you to agree to the People interview. Being rich enough to live the rest of your life at the Ritz in Paris isn't everything, after all."

The following week, a charming photographer from People said:

"Would you sit on a roof for me?"

I sat on a roof. I sat on the very peak of a very steep roof. It was a precarious perch and the tin was treacherously slippery. Henry James receded far from my thoughts, all of which were concentrated on the possibility of making a false move and falling to my death.

The worst part was imagining how the obituaries would read: "Publicity-Crazed Book Peddler Succumbs After Tumble Was Sitting on Roof Looking for Isles of Greece Wife Says."

Never again. I swore, when I climbed down alive. "Now, would you sit in a laundry tub for me?" asked the photographer. I sat in a laundry tub.

New York Times Service

Judith Ivey

By Michiko Kakutani
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Less than a year ago, Judith Ivey was ready to leave the theater for good. She was ready to give up acting, maybe become a veterinarian instead. It wasn't that she'd failed to get good roles — in fact she'd just won praise for her performances in "Piaf" and "Pastorale"; it was more that she was tired of being poor, tired of waiting in unemployment lines between shows, and impatient for success. With her latest Broadway show, "Steaming," all that has changed. Acclaimed by the critics, Judith Ivey has become a star.

Certainly the role of Josie, the tarted-up Cockney heroine of "Steaming" — Nell Dunn's play at the Brooks Atkinson about six Englishwomen who meet at a Turkish bath for sympathy and steam — provides a wonderful showcase for her talent. Primping her Farrah Fawcett curls and sashaying about naked except for her high heels, Josie seems, at first, nothing but a deliciously dumb blonde. Skewed vowels spill out as she boasts about her sexual exploits and recounts her favorite fantasies about men. "Life will always hurt you," she declares. "So what's the point of being responsible?"

In the second act, though, all the anger and fear concealed beneath the gassy banters pour forth in a remarkable monologue, and, as played by Ivey, Josie suddenly becomes an extraordinarily touching human being — a character, as the actress puts it, who is "tough, but wears a dolly around her." Indeed, like so many of the women Ivey has played — the self-destructive, magically impish Edith Piaf and the manic, preppy "flower child" in "Pastorale" — Josie is a character at once innocent and worldly, vulnerable and strong.

The fact that many of Josie's scenes are played in the nude did not bother Ivey as much as she thought it would. "Once I read the play, I realized it was an integral part of it — this stripping away of layers and all that philosophical stuff. I think I discovered who Josie was when I started stripping away the clothes in



Actress Ivey: Stripping away the layers.

rehearsal — she really is a free spirit.

"I have a tendency to find the physicality of the character first, and that feeds the internal stuff. I like to find a walk or a voice; for instance, Josie does stand up straight — I'm a terrible slouch myself — and the high heels help you develop a totally different walk."

Ivey worked with the costume designer Jennifer von Mayrhauser to assemble Josie's trendy wardrobe — a mint coat, jeans, a glittery angora sweater, ankle bracelets and lots of gold chains — and she borrowed mannerisms from a woman named Rosie, one of Dunn's friends, who served as the model for the character. "It was easy to grab a few personality traits from her," Ivey recalled. "She was so feminine and dainty — even the way she'd pick up her cigarettes and light them."

As for the accent, Ivey was an old hand at that, having appeared in such British plays as "Bedroom Farce" and "Piaf." In addition, she noted, she had developed a facility with accents as a child. "When we moved north, I stuck out like a sore thumb — I had a terrible Texas drawl, and I had to learn to get rid of it to fit in. Consequently, I have a good

ear, and I think that helped a lot."

Born in El Paso, Ivey was the eldest daughter of a college administrator who frequently changed jobs; her family moved about 15 times before she entered college. Always forced to cultivate a natural acting talent, "As an outsider, you find out how people operate. You become very much in touch with what you have to offer in a situation and try to capitalize on it. Having moved so much, acting was a lifestyle in a sense for us — my brother's an actor, too, and my sister used to act. I think my parents impressed on us that those other people were there first, so it was our job to extend ourselves to them."

Yet for many years, Ivey did not think of acting as a career. Through high school, she worked at becoming a painter. Then, at age 17, she played Miss Preen in a school production of "The Man Who Came to Dinner," and discovered that she could make people laugh. "That," she said, "was the bug."

Following graduation from Illinois State University in 1973, Ivey went to Chicago, where she played such roles as Hazel Niles in O'Neill's "Mourning Becomes Electra" at the Goodman Theater. "I was doing very well there, and could have stayed and had a couple of kids and a nice house. I could have settled down and been a local actress. But it seemed like the easy way out." So after five years she loaded up a trailer "with all my worldly goods" and drove 15 hours straight to New York. She remembers the date, June 12, 1978: "When you move to New York, having grown up in the Midwest, it's really a momentous occasion."

Ivey believes there are two sorts of actors: those who become actors from necessity, from some inner need to express themselves on stage, and those who become actors from luxury. "It has to do possibly with the way we grow up. I think some people grow up with very unhappy childhoods and consequently becoming an actor is almost a necessity because they've never been happy with themselves and acting's a way to escape from who they are."

"On the other hand, those of us who become actors from luxury find that it becomes, for lack of a better word, a hobby. I didn't have to be an actress to feel satisfied; I became an actress because all doors are open to me, and I discovered that I enjoyed it and could do pretty well by it. If someone said, 'Tomorrow, actors no longer exist,' I'd miss it, but I know I'd find something else that would motivate me as much as acting does."

For a time, though, Ivey's other interests — veterinary medicine, anthropology, painting — will have to wait. Having recently completed a role in the film "Dixie" with Suzanne Pleshette and Cloris Leachman, she plans to do more film and television work after completing her run in "Steaming."

"At the moment, I'm totally in love with acting. I feel I know enough at this point so I'm not quite as scared as I was. I'm something of a perfectionist, and when things are going badly, I want to quit — I feel I've just fooled everyone including myself up to now, and that the truth's finally come out. But I feel I have my muscles all toned right now in terms of being an actor. I feel like I'm in control with what I'm doing."

PEOPLE

The \$1-Million Vers.

Byron's letters and journals awards will be presented Jan. 20, New York. . . . The Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., father of the U.S. civil rights leader, and producer-director Richard Attenborough were named as winners of the 1983 Martin Luther King Nonviolent Peace Prize; C. Scott King, widow of King, president of the Martin L. King Center for Nonviolence, Change, said the prize will be presented to the two men. Attenborough, the first European and first filmmaker to receive an award, was cited for his "determined struggle to bring the screen to the life of Mahatma Gandhi, the man whose philosophy was the single most important element in shaping my band's belief in nonviolence." Sr. was called "the guiding light behind his son's work in peace and freedom for all kind."

The pianist-composer Eric Lieber appeared in a gala concert honoring the late Arthur Rubinstein at the Baltimore Museum of Art. Lieber played works by Rubin and his own "24 de Kox Preludes," which he dedicated to Rubinstein in his first appearance in 1978 at New York's Lincoln Center. The program closed with the premiere of Lieber's film "Portrait," dedicated to Rubenstein and featuring Willard Koontz, Leonard Bernstein, Renate Ranschburg, Tennessee Williams, Andy Warhol, John and Liv Ultmann.

King Hassan II of Morocco reportedly buying a secluded place in New York state to move to live, at a cost of \$250,000. The Ithaca Journal reported the king had purchased the in Cayuga Heights, New York, niece, believed to be attending school there. The builder Eric Chase said Hassan's niece, plus her residence and the land arranged by the Moroccan in New York City. The two-story home with an attached two-car garage has a one-acre and overlooks the Cornell Course.

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